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ABSTRACT

This paper assesses perceptions of quality of working life of Indians, Chinese, Pakistanis, Filipinos, and Koreans, living in Springfield, Illinois. The aspects of occupational life considered in this study are perceptions of job satisfaction, relations with colleagues, opportunities for advancement, and discrimination. The data were obtained through face to face interviews with 45 respondents from the five groups. Findings indicate that despite some variation among the groups, the Asian Americans are generally well educated, professionally skilled, employed in prestigious occupations, and have a great deal of job satisfaction. They do not see any overt and blatant work related discrimination against them by the majority population, despite occasional reports of discrimination against individual Asian Americans. Beyond the work setting, there is little if any interaction between the Asian population and their colleagues and neighbors of the majority population. A major constraining feature of the Asian's work life is the existence of an invisible job ceiling which defines the heights Asian Americans may reach in any organizational or professional hierarchy, limiting them to non policy making positions. Traditional modesty, a feeling of gratefulness toward their host country, and some fear, might be seen as inhibiting forces against expression of any negative feelings about their work lives. (Author/AM)

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QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN MIDDLE-SIZE CITIES*

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Abstract

This paper seeks to assess perceptions of quality of working life of five Asian American groups namely, Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Filipinos and Koreans living in the middle size cities. This report is part of a larger pilot study on the quality of life of Asian Americans in the middle size cities of America.

The aspects of occupational life considered in this study are perceptions of job satisfaction, relations with colleagues, opportunities for advancement, and discrimination. The data was obtained through an in-depth face-to-face interview with 45 respondents representing five Asian American groups in Springfield, Illinois.

Despite some variation among the groups, the Asian Americans are generally well educated, professionally skilled, employed in prestigious occupations, and have a great deal of job satisfaction. They do not see any overt and blatant work-related discrimination against them by the majority population despite occasional reports of discrimination against individual Asian Americans.

Beyond the work setting, there is little, if any, interaction between the Asian Americans and their colleagues and neighbors of the majority population. A major constraining feature of their work-life is the existence of an invisible job-ceiling which defines the heights Asian Americans may reach in any organizational or professional hierarchy, invariably limiting them to non-policy-making positions. Traditional modesty, a feeling of gratefulness toward their host country, and a certain fear might be seen as inhibiting forces against expression of any negative feelings vis-à-vis their work lives. Prognosis for future generations of Asian Americans is seen as intriguing.

Work constitutes a major focus in a person's life in the contemporary industrialized societies,[1] and is perhaps more important in the lives of Asian Americans in small and middle size cities of America.[2] The importance of work and the workplace becomes readily apparent once certain underlying features about the social lives of Asian Americans in the middle size cities are understood. There is a relative absence of meaningful social relationships between Asian Americans and their neighbors, and too narrow a cultural and demographic support base in small and middle size cities for the development of a "community" where religious and cultural organizations, newspapers and clubs can be developed. As a result, Asian Americans must obtain their emotional sustenance, identity and a sense of purpose, beyond what is offered in the family, through work in the external world. In other words, besides being a means to material well-being, work serves to fill the otherwise alienated social lives of Asian Americans.

Given the importance that work assumes in the lives of Asian Americans, the quality of their work-life becomes an integral part of their overall quality of life. Any statement on their quality of life must include some evaluation of their perceptions of work, work-place and working relationships. The purpose of this paper is to describe in general the types of occupations the Asian

1. For a finding which questions the centrality of work in a person's life, see Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, (January, 1956), 131-142. For two other relevant studies which focus on professionals, see Louis H. Orzack, "Work as a 'Central Life Interest' of professionals," Social Problems, VII, 2(Fall, 1959), 125-132; and Proshanta K. Nandi and Orville R. Gursslin, "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in Higher Education," International Review of Modern Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March, 1973) 74-82.

2. Middle size cities in this study are defined as those Urban Places which are in the population range of 50,000 to 250,000. In 1970 there were 348 middle size cities in the United States (for the list of the cities and definition of Urban Places, see U.S. Bureau of the Census of Population: 1970, PC(1)-B1, 1972: 319-323, and Appendix 3, respectively).

Americans are engaged in, their job satisfaction, relations with colleagues, and views about promotion, mobility and discrimination.

The description of the types of occupations held by the Asian American respondents and their spouses allows us to develop an occupational profile of the various groups which, in turn, identifies patterns of professional and occupational training and status. The Asian Americans' perceptions of their occupational roles, especially in regard to their perceived gratifications and dissatisfactions, provides an account of their disposition to work. Information about their relationships with colleagues at work yield data about the kind and quality of their reference group. Finally, the concerns about opportunities for career advancement, and prejudice or discrimination at work are of importance to Asian Americans as they are to most ethnic minorities.

Reasons for Coming to Springfield

More than one-half of the Asian Americans interviewed came to Springfield because of definite job offers or because they had relatives who would support them while they looked for work. Being a middle size city without any major industry, the capital city of Illinois has long been attractive to professionals, bureaucrats and other white collar workers. With the recent openings of three major educational institutions, Sangamon State University, Southern Illinois University School of Medicine, and Lincoln Land Community College, and the recent expansion of its medical facilities and establishment of newer shopping complexes, fresh corps of doctors, professors and other professionals in diverse fields including a sizeable number of people of Asian origin have found positions in the city's numerous public and private institutions.

This was substantiated by each of the national groups. Seventy percent of the Indians, 50 percent of the Pakistanis, 70 percent of the Filipinos, 55 percent

of the Koreans, and 75 percent of the Chinese came to Springfield after having secured jobs. The rest came because of their relatives. Unlike New York, San Francisco or Chicago or other large cities with ethnic enclaves where Asian Americans could arrive without relatives and firm jobs because of the supportive cultural infrastructure, cities such as Springfield are not likely to be attractive to the unrecruited. Because of high cost of housing, and a generally high cost of living, the capital city may be uncomfortable to live in on less than a professional income. This is more pronounced in the case of poorer Asian Americans for whom living in the city's east side ghettos is found unattractive in large part because of the absence of a familiar cultural base. If they had to make a choice, the low income Asian Americans would prefer to live in New York or San Francisco. In sum, for poorer Asian Americans without relatives, the city of Springfield is unattractive because of the economic constraints and a lack of cultural support and native hospitality.

The preceding general discussion leads us to a more categorical discussion based on nationality background. The groups under consideration are Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans. The variables considered under each of these groups are type of occupation, job satisfaction, relations with colleagues, and advancement and discrimination.

We begin our discussion with Indians, who are the most numerous of all of Asian origin in Springfield.

INDIANS

Types of Occupation

Indians are in prestigious occupations[3] when seen in terms of either the

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3. Unless stated otherwise, the words "occupation" and "profession" have been used interchangeably. Theoretically, however, we are inclined to follow the position developed by Vollmer and Mills in their use of the concept "profession" to refer only to an abstract model of occupational organization. See Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills, eds., Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. vii-viii.

Edwards' scale[4] or the North-Hatt or National Opinion Research Center (NORC)[5] measure of occupational prestige. Theirs is a small group of physicians, professors, engineers, social workers, professionals in health and medical fields, executives in government and commercial undertakings, and a few students and housewives.

In terms of the male sample from the Indian group, two are university professors with earned doctorates, two are engineers, and one is a physician. Although somewhat less prestigious than those of the males, the occupations reported by the female respondents are also overrepresented in professional or paraprofessional occupations. One female respondent is a substitute teacher while another is a Grants and Contracts Officer, an accounting position. The remaining female respondents do not work for pay. They report their occupations as those of student and housewife.

This array of occupations reflects a high level of educational background for Indians in Springfield. All but two reported having attained at least a graduate degree. About sixty percent of the respondents reported their spouses also had graduate degrees while about twenty percent reported undergraduate degrees.

The spouses of females in the sample are also engaged in occupations which reflect both prestige and a high level of educational accomplishment. One is a civil engineer, a second is a university professor, the third is reported as being employed by the Department of Transportation. The remaining female respondent has never married.

A relatively high number of female spouses are also pursuing occupational

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4. For a review of the Edwards' scale, see Alba N. Edwards, Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 179.

5. For a summary of NORC survey, see Richard H. Hall, Occupations and the Social Structure (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), pp. 245-255. All subsequent statements made in this chapter and elsewhere in regard to prestige rating of occupations will be in terms of the NORC survey.

careers. One female spouse is engaged in administrative work in the field of health services, another works as a key punch operator, a third is engaged in teaching besides being a housewife. Another female spouse is a social worker, having obtained her professional degrees both in India and in the United States. Only one male respondent recorded his spouse's occupation as that of a housewife.

In general, both respondents and their spouses are occupied in relatively prestigious occupations in keeping with their advanced educational acccmplishments in such diverse fields as secondary and higher education, engineering, medicine, accountancy and social work. In addition, there are key punchers, students and housewives in the sample.

Job Satisfaction

That professionals enjoy their work more than others, and that their work constitutes a positive point of reference in their self-identification is more than borne out by the Indian sample, 70 percent of whom are engaged in highly skilled professional employment. Of the remaining 30 percent who are not presently gainfully employed, two have their Master's degrees while one is in school working for her Master's degree in Human Services at the local university.

Although most of the respondents expressed satisfaction with their jobs, nearly all of them qualified their responses. A substitute teacher was positively disposed about her work despite the fact that some of her classes were difficult:

> The kids are very curious [about] and interested in other lands and culture...and they usually respond to me pretty well...it's probably a change for them to have somebody different.

Responding to further questions about her ambitions to teach full-time she volunteered:

> I would like it very much...I would prefer to teach in high school. I don't like teaching in an elementary school...[in which she is

> presently teaching]...high school kids are mature...full of life, and they like to discuss things, and they have their own opinions...

It may be added that this respondent has two Master's degrees, one from India in English Literature and one from an American university in psychology. Her present position keeps her busy and somewhat contented, but she would really like to teach in a high school.

Although basically satisfied in his dual occupational role of medical school faculty as well as a practicing physician in a local hospital, a physician's response to a variety of questions in regard to work and its various correlates are somewhat reserved.

> I am a full time physician...I enjoy teaching a great deal, and we do some research, too. So, jobwise it is extremely satisfactory... generally speaking, the teaching job in this country is not as well paying as practice... [My] job...is sort of in between teaching and practice...and that is why I am very happy.

But this happiness about his work is not exactly unqualified as is apparent from his later comments in which he expressed some misgivings. His reservations about the quality of medical services are direct and specific.

> This is the first place that I have seen in Springfield, where even in the medical school community...people have not been that quality conscious.

Not that his work did not start off well and on an interesting note, but it gradually became routine. Now he thinks it is more or less a job. One could discern some mixed feelings and ambivalence of some sort in his orientation toward work. In an effort to expand on his reservations he commented:

> I think gradually...it's [it becomes] pretty monotonous but...in general, I would say I enjoy it. I [have] worked at many places and, sometimes, it looks pretty rosy to work with certain industry and things like that but unless you can get into a field which you really like...then, you might say that that's the ultimate thing you would like to do. But, to achieve it is not easy all the time. I am not sure really...whether I enjoy it or not, but I guess I am here and I am not leaving, so I like it.

A young professional person with a Master's degree in Administration expressed somewhat similar thoughts. Asked how she would describe her feelings

about her job, her answer was, "It is O.K. when I got it I really liked it but it is no more challenging for me." This comment was made despite the fact that she had gained her supervisor's confidence which has resulted in added responsibilities with a great deal of autonomy. She summed up her feelings about her job: "I guess just because it was a job, I liked it very much because, you know, how hard it is to get a job. I don't know whether it was [the sort] of job I really wanted or not."

Though much more brisk and to the point in the evaluation of his occupational satisfaction, a professor who has spent about twenty years of his life in the U.S.A. was philosophical and rather neutral. "How does he find teaching as a profession?" "Well, so far..., teaching is the most satisfying job I have ever come across." "And what about this particular teaching assignment?" "There are ups and downs. I think sometimes you get frustrated but overall I think its O.K."

An engineer who devotes a major share of his leisure hours to music as a hobby gave the most unqualified statement in regard to his job satisfaction. When asked about how he felt about his work, he replied in all earnestness:

> Oh, I think...[this particular assignment] was one of the motivating factors in moving down here...after regular design [work] for seven or eight years. I was moving into an area where I could do some research, some applied research.

As for the work itself, he thought it was varied, very interesting and, at times, overtaxing. A little later, he explained that besides having the prerogative of doing applied research, his work assumed added interest in that he met with people of different levels and types. He seemed to separate in his mind his work and the working conditions. While he stressed that his work was very satisfactory, the working conditions, he thought, were quite fair, if not the best.

Another university faculty at one of the two local state universities, was very specific about the aspect of his job which marred an otherwise very satis-

fying professional assignment. When he arrived in Springfield, he had everything moving in the direction he wanted it to move: promotion, more compensation, and greater opportunities for career advancement because of the newness of the school. However, despite adequate job satisfaction, he could not help recognizing the role politics played in the affairs of the university:

> I realize that really politics is one of the...greatest characteristics...plays greater role in the university... [this] politicking part...[is]...very unsatisfactory. Even though you feel you are not going to be a part of it...[you] can't escape it. Even though you want to keep away from this... you get somehow hurt...there'a no satisfaction...[in it].

The opinions reported provide a range of feelings, attitudes and beliefs of the Indian sample in regard to work. In general, the Indian respondents and their spouses, while expressing job satisfaction, seem to have misgivings about their work or some of its various aspects.

Relations with Colleagues

The reservations about job satisfaction expressed by Indian respondents becomes even more meaningful when coupled with their reflections about their colleagues or co-workers. The tone of the responses given would seem to indicate that working relationships are of a more or less "secondary" nature. The relations for the most part are formal, amicable but somewhat distant. At times, respondents' perceptions of their relations with colleagues are strained and perhaps of a critical nature.

A physician lamented that in this midwestern city he missed the quality of friendship that he had experienced while in the eastern part of the United States. To him the American doctors were extremely efficient and competent but very much like businessmen. His own idea of a doctor was one who was compassionate and really working for the sick. He hoped that the younger generation

of doctors would be a different breed.

A social distance between the Indians and their indigenous colleagues could be readily discerned. Though they do visit native Americans' homes, it is only infrequently. A young professional was asked whether or not she got together socially with people she met at work. Her answer was quick: " No, not really." Another respondent reported that his relationship with his colleagues was professional and not personal: "...I have not made contact with my colleagues from a social point of view...somehow...we have sort of isolated ourselves." A female respondent commented about the nature of the reception she had received from her co-workers when she started working: "...most of the time they just said hello. In the beginning they did want to inquire about me...once they came to know...there's nothing more to ask."

A university professor candidly expressed his disappointment about his colleagues. He used to care about the opinions of his colleagues but not any longer.

> But now what I feel is, nothing doing! Forget all about them; forget all about their politicking, the only way you can satisfy yourself and progress in your field is just [to] do your work honestly [and] sincerely, as much as you can do...and as much of...as satisfies you...forget about what they think in their mind about me or what I would get from them.

Only one out of the ten Indians had a somewhat favorable reaction about his colleagues. While he does not express a primary relationship with them, he does feel accepted.

Relations between Indians and co-workers are generally of a secondary nature. The focus of the relationship is goal-oriented - getting the job done. The relations are, for the most part, formal amicable, but distant. However, this does not rule out co-workers forming the reference group. The Indians are largely professionally oriented. In the absence of something better they seem to have settled for a work-oriented relationship with their colleagues.

Advancement and Discrimination

Questions about advancement possibilities are somewhat obscured by the fact that most of the Indians are professional people. Advancement in these professions is not always easy to understand because the positions involved are not necessarily hierarchical in their levels of competence.

Like job satisfaction, Indians express a basic, if not unqualified satisfaction about the concerns here. A university professor, for example, feels that with his qualifications and experience, he should be the head of the department pretty soon in accordance with the American tradition, although, in reality, the prospect of being so is very small. He hastened to add, however, that the present incumbent was a close friend of his, and was really a very nice person who understood the problems and had tried to open up other avenues for him. He felt that he had not faced any discrimination personally.

Despite the fact that he has been locked in a position with no immediate prospect for advancement, another Indian man did not see any discrimination in it; just that the position he deserved was not available at that time. Others pointed out that they had advanced somewhat in their jobs but also know the limitations out there.

Addressing himself to the issues of autonomy, fairness, and discrimination, a university professor at a professional school said:

> ...absolute fairness does not exist; in fact, I think I didn't get what I deserved, but that might be the way [how] everybody thinks...so I cannot make a value judgement...I cannot pinpoint ...what the causes are, whether it is my fault...but I personally feel...others have not been fair to me...

And what about discrimination?

> You suspect there is discrimination and to some extent it seems to exist but you cannot prove it...like in a court of law...You cannot say that's it. But to some extent it is there [only] not blatant...

Time and again, the Indians betrayed some uneasiness about discrimination. Generally, they reported that they didn't experience it, but there were times when they felt they were victims of it. They enjoyed autonomy in their work but at times became aware of intense "politicking" which they felt interfered with their work.

Summary

It was found that most Indian respondents and their spouses held relatively prestigious professional positions: public school teachers, college, university and medical school professors, doctors, engineers, professionals in health service and social work and key punch operators. These positions reflect a well-educated (all respondents report a graduate degree) and well-paid group of people.

All respondents report moderate job satisfaction for themselves and/or their spouses. This satisfaction, however, is not without reservation or some kind of qualification.

Relationships with colleagues, for the most part, are of a secondary nature: they are formal, for the most part friendly but distant. The relationships focus primarily upon the work scene and are goal oriented. This does not, however, reflect the desires of the respondents but, more likely reflects the nature of cross-ethnic relationships in American culture.

Respondents seem to believe that promotions are a little slow in coming but they do seem to get there. In the event that promotion is not possible, some respondents noted that special steps were taken to reward their good work. Others felt that doing good work seemed to result only in greater demands on their productivity.

Discrimination seems to pose a problem for respondents. Although blatant discrimination is not faced by them, they feel that it shows occasionally in subtle ways.

PAKISTANIS

Types of Occupation

Of the six Pakistani men interviewed, five hold moderately prestigious occupations. The sixth was trained for a high prestige position but is presently occupied as a "houseman" in a new hotel in downtown Springfield. His dissatisfaction with this job is readily understandable since his training is in the field of architecture. Another reported working as an Assistant Production Manager in a small industrial shop. A third reports his occupation as a hospital respiratory technician. The remaining three Pakistani men are engineers.

Only one out of four Pakistani women is presently employed for pay and works as a nurse's aide. The three remaining women are occupied as housewives.

Spouses of those interviewed are occupied in a variety of ways: three are housewives and the remaining female spouses are employed as a nurse's aide and a saleslady. The male spouses of those interviewed are engaged in considerably better-rated occupations. Two are engineers, and one is a juvenile detention counselor. One respondent has never married.

Pakistani men are generally better educated than the women and are more qualified for prestigious occupations. Of the six Pakistani men, two have graduate degrees, two have baccalaureate degrees, and two report some college as their highest level of education. The women reflect a much lower level of educational attainment. Only one of the four reports a college degree; two more have had some college, while the fourth woman possesses a high school diploma.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction among Pakistanis varies greatly, with the group ranking in the "moderate" satisfaction category. However, some individuals are very satisfied with their jobs and their occupational accomplishments in those jobs while others are extremely dissatisfied.

When asked what feelings he had about his work, a civil engineer replied: "Well, any job, you know, after a while it becomes routine. So that's nothing unusual. [About my job], I don't know, sometimes. Uninteresting. It's not that interesting." However, when he was later asked about how satisfied he was with his job he replied: "In percentages? It's eighty-ninety percent or so."

A housewife, who was not gainfully employed at the time of the interview, indicated her dissatisfaction with having only housework to do. When asked if she worked outside the home, she said: "No, not yet, but I am planning to do that." In that case, what would she like to do? "I---don't know. But I got a job as a salesperson in a local department store. So I will soon start the job." Did she think she would enjoy the work? "Sure I will. I will learn more things. Some new things I wanted to learn." A major motivation for seeking work outside the home was loneliness. She said she was lonely and went on to say:

> That's why I'm going to do the job. Sometimes I feel lonely because my husband's job is...like that, that he had to live out of town...fifteen days out of the month...And sometimes I miss my parents. That's why I feel lonely. If I get friends over here, I think I will feel more comfortable...

Another Pakistani woman had worked before but did not like it for various reasons and went back to home and children. About her work she said:

> Yes. I worked in a laboratory. I took a training there to do some hematology and few small test and urine analysis and stuff and I worked there for almost two years. It was a good experience. That was my very first job. I never worked before and it was nice. I enjoyed it, but, after awhile, I got fed up. I got tired of getting ready every morning and going and so I decided to have a third child and forget about the job; so, that is what happened. So when I got pregnant, I stayed home, resigned, but it was good experience.

One Pakistani man was basically very satisfied with himself and his work. He began talking about his job when asked about why he had come to Springfield.

He had come because of his job, and went on to say:

> ...and this is my first job and last job as far as fulltime job is concerned. I have been with them eighteen years. Without having a college degree I have done better than almost every foreigner from India and Pakistan and Asia in the Department of Transportation, although I am talking about all over, from Chicago to Cairo, Illinois.

He talked further about his work:

> It is challenging. It's very challenging. Else, the only thing, I sometimes feel, I wish I was born and raised, went to school in this country because I have to deal mostly with farmers, with people who are probably I would say, in one respect, ignorant of foreigners, you know. And eh, I mean they just don't know about [us] and you have to be very tactful...in dealing with these people. Language is very important, very very important. I find this, I don't think there is any prejudice among American people as long as you can help them and they understand you. In many respect, that is where my problem is. I can understand them better but I don't know if they can understand me as well as I do.

Some Pakistanis find their work routine and somewhat dissatisfying. A recent immigrant was asked how he felt about work. His response contained just a touch of bitterness:

> There is one main problem about this job...I am a qualified architect,...I applied so many times and in so many firms or departments but they never call me...Why they did not call me. So somebody once interviewed me and ...asked, 'O.K. you are qualified from Pakistan but the construction and materials are different...there.' So you have to learn here and then you can get the job. So I am trying to get admission and then get qualified here and then, maybe, I will take a job or what. There is a problem...As soon as I get my line job, I will quit my temporary "housemans" job.

An elderly respondent reported that he lost his state job in the political shuffle occurring just after a former governor took office and is still bitter about it:

> I was with them (the State of Illinois) until 1973, and then, when the new governor came in, I think he played politics and...I became a victim of political lay off. It has hurt me very much, the way it was done, I think because I didn't have any connections here, so, I am still suffering for that, but people who had the connections, most of them are back in the job...so. This is where I feel there was a discrimination...I am working with a firm of...consulting engineers, but I had to take a big cut in my salary, and I was

> without a job for almost two years. Finally, I got one. I had to take whatever I could.

Among those Pakistanis who are relatively happy with their work is a woman whose response to whether or not her job is interesting reflects her satisfaction: "...It is very interesting. Well, I like to help the older people, you know, that's the main reason I like to work." She was later asked how satisfying was her work: "Well, I am all right; I am satisfied with my job."

A housewife reporting about her husband's feelings about his work, said:

> He is very happy for his job because he likes doing research and that is what he is doing. Making code all by himself for the building requirements. Yes, he is enjoying his job very much.

In general, Pakistanis, particularly the males, are relatively well employed. Feelings about their work and levels of satisfaction are widely varied. Some are bitter, some are very well pleased with their jobs; others feel that their work is very routine but not particularly aversive.

Pakistani females are typically occupied with home and children, although some are presently employed at jobs of not too high prestige, and others have been so employed in the past.

Relations with Colleagues

Although relations with colleagues and co-workers are not felt to be bad for the most part, there is not a closeness between the Pakistanis and their co-workers; relationships are less than satisfying at times for some, and uniformly distant and formal for all respondents. Relations do not go much further than the office or parties or bar gatherings; for the most part, individual homes are not part of the web of social relations. A typical response to the question of whether or not the respondent and spouse get together socially with co-workers was: "Once in a while, yes. I'd say once a year. Not too often." Some respondents expressed aloofness in their social contacts, for example: "...I don't mingle too much, except at the office---at work. After getting home I have got so much to do..."

This lack of social contact and the formal nature of their relationships with colleagues have puzzled and perhaps even saddened the Asian Americans. The example of aloofness given above may be a sort of defensiveness against being rejected on a social basis.

An engineer from Pakistan who has lived in the United States for nearly twenty years and whose relations are generally limited to business hours gave vent to feelings and concerns on this score which are representative of the majority of Asian Americans:

> ...I have noticed that in the United States, regardless of how big [in position or influence] a person you become, outside of your relatives and family contacts, you really don't have friendships ...[after]...business hours...During the job and...in relationship with my job, yes, I go out, have a good time, visit with them. But after 4:30 or 5:00 when I am on my own, I really don't have much to do with my colleagues at work...once in a while I may get a telephone call or something...

Questioned specifically about how often he visited colleagues in their homes, he responded:

> Once in a while, once in a while...not very often and neither [do] they come over to eat. Not just to us. I don't think they visit amongst themselves either. Unless...there is a neighbor who's, you know, having a picnic in the back yard comes over. That's about it.

One woman reported that her husband went along with every one of his colleagues because he was a very jolly fellow.

> They tease...[each other] and he enjoys where he works...the way I see it, they all treat him very nicely...they treat him like he is a very funny fellow. They come and say all kind of funny things to him ...He tells them all kind of jokes and they tell all kinds. It is nice relationship they have with him. He has never had any problem... He rarely ever does have any problem, the type of person he is. He never talks about any personal thing to anybody, and if anybody tells him about his problem, he never comments [on] anything. He just stays out of everybody's business...

Aside from the day-to-day business relationship, this person seems to relate to his co-workers on the basis of humor while avoiding, or perhaps feeling that it is necessary to avoid, issues which might lead to a more meaningful relationship with his co-workers. The relations are certainly friendly, but almost as

as certainly, they are superficial and distant. The same woman, when questioned about her friends, indicated some of her old neighbors and some of her husband's colleagues. However, she volunteered: "We never call on each other and say, 'Are you doing anything? We are coming,' you know, informally. Nothing like that...it is formal business."

With the exception of one Pakistani who had a highly satisfactory relationship with her co-workers, all others reported having just good relations with co-workers. Relationships are secondary in nature with some potential for strain in certain cases. However, there is no direct statement to this effect. Some Pakistanis were puzzled by their American colleagues because much of the communication with Americans is either business or superficial. Some, while not necessarily looking for a more meaningful relationship, seem to feel that Americans are friendly but distant even in their relations with other Americans and especially with foreigners.

Advancement and Discrimination

Some of the Pakistani respondents are bitter about their occupation and the social relations which accompany their jobs. A deeper probe into their work experiences gives an indication that the bitterness, where it exists, is warranted.

While acknowledging that there are some problems gaining advancement, a professional engineer rationalized that such problems existed everywhere. Another respondent with a Masters' degree in Civil Engineering attributes the loss of his State Job, at which he worked for nearly 14 years, to sheer politics, possibly due to his national origin and the fact that he does not have "connections." His present job does not pay well and there is no room for career advancement.

Other respondents asserted that they never experienced any discrimination personally. An employee in the State Department of Transportation claimed that he had advanced in his career even beyond some of his native born colleagues. He was hired in the face of stiff competition from twelve "...locally born and raised American boys who were well educated and had plenty of experience." Another who worked in a hospital complex reported contentment at work and that he experienced little discrimination in the attitudes of his colleagues. Still another saw no problem in regard to career advancement. His responses betrayed his optimism: "I don't see any problems...they got enough room for everybody."

Difficulties experienced at work varied greatly. One man who left a comfortable managerial position in Pakistan to come to this country experienced discrimination as well as uncertainty in career advancement. Getting a job was difficult, but retaining it was equally so:

> The first job I got was in Chicago. One day I was appointed and the next day I was refused because six Americans who were supposed to work under me...refused to work under a foreigner, and I was supposed to be a warehouse manager...

"But, how about Springfield?"

> I had difficulties in Springfield. It's a small town and there are not very many opportunities. Although I applied [for] State [jobs] and passed about eight exams with 'A' grade, it [has been] three years [since] and never got a call, and I keep hearing that...a number of people have been employed.

In response to a question as to why he did not get a call, he replied:

> Well, maybe, I did not know anybody in the higher offices who could back me...I have been told by Americans that if you know somebody... you can be in the State right away; otherwise, you just keep wandering. No one will care. [It] does not matter how qualified or experienced you are. It is my belief [that] it is true. In the beginning, I never used to [believe it].

This respondent went on to speak of Asian Americans in general who, in his opinion, were forced to produce or get out:

> ...I have to struggle real hard for existence in that place. If I am better than [an] American, then I will be kept, otherwise not. I think it is not only with me; it is around everywhere where Asian Americans are working. They have to do real good struggle to exist there.

Among other aspects of his occupational life which he dislikes intensely is the sense of insecurity--not knowing when one would be laid off. This respondent does not know if he will stay in this country much longer .

Although trained as an architect, one Pakistani man works as a "houseman" in a local hotel downtown. His line of work has neither possibilities for advancement nor any future prospects. His view parallels those of other Pakistanis who believe that they could not get a suitable job because of their foreignness. He would often hear the comment, "Oh, you are over-qualified; we want school people, very elementary..." "Okay," he would answer, "Forget about my qualifications; treat me as elementary...I want my line job, I do not care about what money you will give me." However, all this proved fruitless; he never received a call.

A younger woman working in a local hospital as a nurse's aide pointed out that initially she encountered some resistance on the part of her colleagues and patients but not any more. Initially, they asked, "Can you do the blood pressure? Can you do this? Can you do that?", to all of which she would say, "Of course." Gradually the patients were won over. Now they would ask only for her when they needed something which was gratifying for her to know.

Pakistani respondents were about evenly split over the issue of discrimination. It has to be recognized that for about one-half of the Pakistani sample discrimination is a problem.

Summary

Pakistani respondents and their spouses hold jobs of varying prestige levels: engineers, industrial supervisors, hospital respiratory technician. One male respondent, although trained as an architect, performs maintenance duties in a large hotel. Of the four female respondents, one is employed for pay as a nurse's aide. While other females have worked in the past or plan future employment, at present, the remaining three females report themselves as housewives.

Spouses of respondents also work at varying prestige levels. Male spouses are typically employed at higher prestige jobs than female spouses: engineering, professional medical representative, and juvenile detention counseling are the fields reported. Female spouses are employed for pay at low prestige jobs: nurse's aide and saleslady, with most female spouses reported as housewives.

Although responses concerning job satisfaction varied, it would seem safe to characterize this group in moderate terms: moderately satisfied or moderately dissatisfied. This would characterize most of the respondents despite an occasional report of extreme satisfaction or dissatisfaction at work.

Relationships with colleagues, for the most part, are of a secondary nature: they are formal and, for the most part, friendly but distant. The relationships focus primarily upon the work scene. There is no depth or intimacy at the social level. Relationships at work do not filter through to the social plane.

A significant number of the Pakistani respondents felt initial job discrimination. Some felt that discrimination stood in the way of getting a job, of holding a job, or of getting advancement on the job. It was also felt by some that discrimination had an effect on relations with fellow workers. In spite of this, the feeling was shared that career advancement was problematic for any group.

CHINESE

Types of Occupation

Chinese respondents and their spouses are typically well-employed in relatively prestigious occupations. Five of the eight Chinese interviewed were males and are employed in a wide variety of occupations. One reports his occupation as a researcher in School Finance; another is employed as an architect; a third works as a civil engineer; still another is a professor at Southern Illinois University School of Medicine; another is the owner and

operator of a small farm, as well as a student. This respondent operates the farm more out of conviction then necessity.

Two of the three Chinese women are presently employed full-time and the third, although indicating "housewife" as her occupation, has worked part-time and intends to continue doing so in the future. The occupations of Chinese women are relatively prestigious. One is a grade school teacher; another has worked as a librarian for the Illinois State Library; and yet another has worked as a part-time substitute teacher in the past and expects to work as a part-time librarian in the future.

With the exception of two Chinese interviewed, one male and one female, who were never married, the remaining six gave information about the occupational status of their spouses. Spouses of the women interviewed are somewhat more prestigiously employed than spouses of male respondents. One male spouse is a college professor and the second is employed as an electronics engineer. Two of the four female spouses are presently employed for pay: one works as a data analyst and the other is employed in an insurance office. A third female spouse is trained as an accountant although she is not now employed. The last female in the Chinese sample does not report having any occupation.

Chinese respondents and their spouses, especially the males in each category, are employed in relatively prestigious jobs. Two are employed in engineering, two are librarians, two are professors and one is a grade school teacher, one is a researcher, one is trained in accounting, one works in the insurance industry, one works in data control, one is occupied as a student although he also owns and operates a small firm, one works as an architect and the last respondent is not gainfully employed. These positions reflect a high level of education. Only one respondent reports less than a graduate degree, although he has seven years of college.

Job Satisfaction

Chinese respondents might be best described as moderately satisfied with their occupational circumstances. Analysis shows that only one respondent is not satisfied while two are moderately dissatisfied.

A woman school teacher who seems realistic and candid, evaluated her work. She described it as, "Very exciting. Challenging. Just like everybody... sometimes you have your ups and downs. Overall, I like it." She was asked to expand upon what she meant by "ups and downs": "Well, then the kids don't behave, that's the only thing I don't like. Otherwise, I am very happy with my job---the kids behave differently every minute, every day, so when they do good work, I like it because that's the way I wanted to be..." To the question of how would she characterize her general satisfaction/dissatisfaction with her job, her reply was: "I would say satisfied very much."

A research scientist with a doctoral degree finds his job both satisfying and meaningful. He described his feelings about his work. "Well, listen, I'm doing research in School Finance for State...wide policy-decision making... I like it...This is...different from academic research. ...Sometimes the research is used for policy...have an impact on those policies..."

A Chinese architect reports, however, that he is not satisfied with his work. He feels he is the victim of circumstances which seriously inhibit his own career opportunities. He differentiates between his satisfaction with his field, architecture, and his present employment situation:

> I was very satisfied before for a while. Now, I still am interested in this field, but not in today's situation...I am getting older. I don't feel---I want to keep working for somebody. I wanted my own thing. I want to work harder and belong to myself. I don't want to work so hard for somebody...

As the interview progressed, his dissatisfaction became more and more apparent. When asked to make a general statement about his job satisfaction, he said;

> I don't know how to answer that...I don't want to say, yes, I'm satisfied...I am not satisfied I just told you. I don't want to work for somebody. The firm to me is excellent, but I figure I have more ambition...and, I guess,...am in a less satisfying situation.

When he was asked how he spent his leisure time, he replied:

> I don't have time for that. I told you I'm not satisfied with my job so I do something for myself. I cannot use their time to do it but I can do it on mine...I am building some more property like duplex and small apartment...for two reasons: security and for my own occupational satisfaction...that makes me feel good.

That his feelings about his job dominate his whole life at this time is made clear by his response to a series of questions about his concerns over the quality of his life. He had said that he did not enjoy life and went on to say: "I work too hard...I wish I don't have to work so hard...I just don't have time to enjoy life. It's so stupid." When asked what he would do to change this if he could, he replied, "My job, I would change my job. Not working for somebody, I'd go to some city and do it for my own. I will work hard...but I will enjoy it." He does have some idea of why he has these problems with his work and when these might possibly end. This will be treated later in this chapter in the section on discrimination.

A civil engineer kept his comments brief, but the wryness in his response was readily discernible and reflected somewhat less than total satisfaction. He was asked if he liked his job: "I like it, the job; I have to like it."

A housewife who had a Master's degree was questioned about her past and future part-time work. Although her present employment is not making full use of her educational background, she does find it enjoyable:

> ...I don't work full time but I do work one day a week and it's not work that I would ordinarily do because of my education, you know...I do have a job for next year which will mean more to me... I will be a part time librarian at the children's school for pay... and that for me will be more satisfying really. But...as far as my job is concerned I have not really...looked for jobs.

She has had some experience of substitute teaching and while it was not a bad experience, her primary motivation was to help a school principal who needed someone to fill in for a teacher who had resigned. She did it more or less as a favor but wouldn't care to continue because:

> It's wrong grade level for me...seventh grade is not my cup of tea. I don't want to teach even if I have the right grade level. I do not want to work full time... [because] I don't think I could enjoy and have enough time for my children...I would rather just work part-time and that's the reason I have just never looked for a [full-time] job here.

Besides revealing her feelings about part-time work, she also provided information about her relatively high level of satisfaction with her professed preoccupation as a "housewife."

A woman librarian expressed the concern that her present job does not make use of her training. Although she is trained as a music librarian, she works as a document librarian. This has had some adverse effects on her job satisfaction:

> At first I found [it] very interesting because I just graduated from school and...everything was new. And you like to learn... [then] it becomes routine. Once you are used to it and I would not say it's too much challenging, and that is one of the reasons I [would] like to move...get another job, and plus, I was going to be a music librarian and I could not find a job in music library around the country so I settle with this... [job]...which has nothing to do with my educational background other than the librarianship training, that is.

She went on to say that she would rather be working in a university "...because I like a college life and even though I won't be going to college any more, I like to be around people going to college. It seems so much life there." She summed up her feelings about her present employment situation this way: "It is all right----I know I would not stay---here for the rest of my life---."

An elderly Chinese man was found to be making a serious effort to realize his life goals and work in his own way. While he described himself as a "student," he also owned and operated a small farm. Speaking of his wife's future employment plans, he said that she wouldn't need to get a job if she didn't want to because:

> ... there is enough work on farm to keep us busy...we have thirteen acres. Out of thirteen acres, we can farm about one-half and we grow most of our own food. We used to keep goats and we have bees. We have chickens, we have rabbits. We are practically what you may call subsistence farmers and we try not to become money exchangers -- just to earn a salary and pay somebody else. We want...to do for ourselves.

When asked how he liked farming, his response reflected a high degree of satisfaction and meaningfulness:

> I like it very much because I feel more of the direct relationship with my own life. You see, instead of paying somebody to grow the crops and then you have to go to earn that money so you in the sense become money exchangers, you see. I do not feel very comfortable in that kind of exchange...[ours] is...the direct relationship...not only just with a person but...with life necessities. Direct relationship with [the world]...is more important...with my particular point of view.

He became increasingly philosophic as the interview progressed. To him, modern life was full of intermediaries - of peoples, objects and relationships, none of which one could depend upon completely. This, to him, led to extra frustration. "We are so much happier...to have direct relationship with...immediate environment, whatever that might be." He seems to have located his key to a contented and meaningful life.

A Chinese professor at the medical school in addition to finding his job satisfying, found that it offered professional opportunities.

> I think it's a good job [and] the job has potential...It's an assistant professorship. [Ours is a] new medical school. Most of the faculty is young. And in this kind of environment, young people, have more chance to - not just necessarily to promote [themselves] but [they] can do whatever they want. See, experience in Los Angeles...I was at UCLA...and it's a good school...so many good people there. And I was there, I was just kind of like a little pin-head. I mean, listening to those big professors ... they ignore the young people's opinion...I think probably it's a good job, here, at SIU School of Medicine for me. and actually I'm very happy with the job I have now.

The spouses of the Chinese interviewed were also satisfied with their (spouses') employment. However, one male respondent reported that he was not satisfied with the fact that his wife was working. He was not satisfied with his own job and blamed his low income for his wife's employment. He was, nevertheless, resigned to the dilemma: "Well, I don't like [her to] work but what can I do? This family needs more income. I can support this family but it is harder..." As to the wife's job satisfaction, he commented: "...she is satisfied...I'm not satisfied because she is spending too much time at this."

Chinese respondents and their spouses are best characterized as moderately satisfied with their occupations. It should be noted, however, that there are variations in either direction.

Relations with Colleagues

The Chinese report friendly but formal relations with their co-workers.

One aspect of these relations is that the Chinese have a fairly well developed cosmopolitan attitude toward their co-workers and their relationships. One is tempted to speculate that the Chinese here are very goal-oriented and, for the most part, are not bothered by the seeming lack of primary relationships with co-workers.

A Chinese civil engineer, for example, finds his relations with co-workers typical of relations in general. The relations are not close, and are sometimes very trying. He believed that there are situations when one had to be hard and fight back. When asked if he had any close friends at work, his first response was: "No." But he immediately requested a clarification: "Close friends, you mean all kinds of friends? I've got some friends at office. How close, I don't know...I mean, ya, I do have some friends, ya."

A Chinese woman pointed out that people generally did not have time to go out socializing during the week. She could think about company only during the holidays. For her, time is a major constraint in the way of maintaining close social relations with co-workers.

The Chinese professor at the Medical School reported that most of his friends were at work. His social and cultural background (he came from Taiwan) influenced his relationships and provided some insight as to why these relationships were typically secondary in nature. He did not drink and did not go to bars. A bachelor, he loved tennis and met friends at the tennis court. Most of them were men. Girls were shy (to him).

One Chinese woman said that she and her husband seldom went out socially with his co-workers. "Just holiday times; ---and the company has a family type picnic a couple of times a year. Those are the only times we socialize..."

Advancement and Discrimination

Most Chinese in Springfield do not see significant opportunities for

advancement in their present occupations. There is also consciousness of discrimination among the Chinese. Two reported that they have been the subjects of discrimination; one case has been settled to the respondent's satisfaction while the other is an on-going problem.

The school teacher ruled out advancements in her career because of the nature of her work--"You become a more experienced teacher but I don't see any promotion [to] any other position...That's the system, [since] you are a teacher...you stay being a teacher." The researcher working in the area of School Finance for the State believed that essentially there were no real advancement possibilities in his line of work. He felt that, as a professional, he was at the top, and unless he wanted to move to some administrative position, there were no opportunities for promotion. However, he did not want to go into administration because of the greater pressures. More importantly, he felt discriminated against in regard to his salary inasmuch as it was lower than some others with comparable training and experience.

An architect felt that opportunities for advancement were nonexistance. He did not feel that the firm he worked for discriminated against him but the state regulations did. Since he was not yet qualified for citizenship, he could not take the required exam to become an architect in the firm.

A civil engineer who was gainfully employed at the time of the interview mused somewhat in his responses to questions about advancement and discrimination at work. In some way, he related his small chance of advancement to the fact that he was a Chinese. In his own words

> Even [if] you live here for 1000 years, you [are] still Chinese-looking...You go anywhere, people say, 'Oh, see these Chinese'... you can see the problem there. I think I get treated different.

A number of the Chinese in Springfield are engaged in occupations which are more or less terminal. Advancement is beyond their reach. Some feel that discrimination is the reason for low advancement potential.

Summary

Chinese respondents and their spouses, especially the males, are relatively well employed as engineers, librarians, teachers, research scientist and architect. One is trained in accounting but is not presently working. One of the respondents is a student although he also owns and operates a small farm, and the last is reported as having no occupation.

Chinese respondents and their spouses may be characterized as moderately satisfied with their occupations. It should be noted, however, that in terms of job satisfaction there are extreme responses in both directions.

Friendly but rather formal relations with co-workers are reported by Chinese respondents. Lack of time is reported to be one possible reason why the relations do not become primary. It is further interesting to note that Chinese respondents do not seem, for the most part, to suffer from any anxiety or tension because of the apparent lack of any primary relationship with the majority community.

As far as advancement is concerned, Chinese respondents seem to be engaged in occupations which are more or less terminal. Some respondents feel, however, that there is an element of discrimination which, at least in part, may be the reason for low advancement potential.

FILIPINOS

Types of Occupation

Male Filipinos in Springfield are typically employed in prestigious professional jobs. Of the four males, three are in the medical profession and the fourth is an engineer. All four report high family income.

Although only one female Filipino is presently employed for pay, the other two are trained professionals. The one female who is presently employed works as a clerk for a cake company. The other two are trained in the medical field--one as a nurse and the other as a medical technician.

Spouses of the Filipino respondents are equally well trained and employed.

One male spouse is employed as a civil engineer; a second is a dentist, and the third is self-employed in home heating and air conditioning. Two of the female spouses are housewives, one of whom is an accountant by profession. A third female is a registered nurse while the fourth is a professor at the local community college.

The Filipinos in the sample are well educated -- all but one report at least a college degree, with five of the seven respondents holding graduate degrees--and well employed. The medical profession accounts for the major share of both respondents and their spouses. In addition, there are two civil engineers, one self-employed heating and air-conditioning specialist, one clerk, one college professor and two housewives.

Job Satisfaction

Of the seven Filipino respondents, four males were questioned closely concerning their job satisfaction. Three of them claim to be very satisfied, while the fourth speaks of his job with some apprehension.

A medical doctor, an anaesthesiologist, was asked to describe his feelings about his work. He not only expressed his feelings but went on to stress the value and novelty of his work:

> ...it's very interesting, you know...anaesthesiology is a fairly new speciality, and a lot of people are still not aware that there is such a specialist as an anaesthesiologist, that he is M.D., like a regular specialist. It's interesting in the sense that I go and talk and check with the people and explain to them about anaesthesia, and about anaesthesiology..."

He was later asked how satisfied he was with his job. His answer was brief and clear: "Right now I think I am satisfied. I am very much satisfied."

Another physician communicated his feelings about his work when he was questioned about living in Springfield compared to the somewhat larger city in which he lived prior to coming here. For him, his work is the most important

variable: "...I like Springfield mainly because of my job. I suppose if I don't like my job, I won't like Springfield." He went further to explain specifically his reactions to his job:

> ...The clinic is very prestigious...and I enjoy working with the doctors in the place. The biggest positive point, I would say, would be the fact that we are formally affiliated to the Southern Illinois University Medical School so that my academic background ...is not wasted. I teach...and, as a matter of fact, I feel more active now in teaching than I was when I was in academic surgery because [now] I have all the materials. I have all the cases to show, to talk with the residents. I have all the opportunities to talk with the students. I really enjoy it.

A transportation engineer finds himself doing what he was trained to do, and enjoys his work very much. He works for the state with the Department of Transportation and the Bureau of Materials and Fiscal Research. "I am enjoying what I am doing. That's what I was trained for. I was in research when I was at Cornell and I did some management work, you know, so I enjoy it."

A psychiatrist employed by the State of Illinois reported unhappy experiences. A few months ago, prior to the survey, a minor scandal developed in the state mental health system because a number of foreign born psychiatrists failed to pass certain credentializing tests given by the state. At the time of the interview, he was aware that he had failed those exams and could well lose his job. The problem was almost overwhelming:

> ...I served faithfully and loyally...devotedly. In fact, I got superior performance when I was working in Jacksonville, so I decided...well, I am going to stay in Illinois...I'll take the State Board in Illinois. Three times...I'm not going to be ashamed...three times I failed it. I did not...we didn't receive the result of our examination yet but...[this was]...broadcast in the media...I don't know how to describe my feelings...It is a problem because my family is involved. If I were alone, I mean if I were single, and the issue came out, I would take the first plane and go back to the Philippines. But, I have a family. I think the most important [thing is] my family.

Two female Filipinos had what they considered to be "run-of-the-mill" jobs.

Another was trained as a medical technologist but was not working for pay at the time of the interview. She was asked if she "liked her work." Her response was, "Yes, very much." Asked if the work was interesting, her response was: "I like doing that kind of work -- medical field analysis -- things like that." And finally, did she intend to go back to work? "After I have my children all in school, yes, I do intend to go back."

Filipino respondents are generally well satisfied with their occupations. The professionals in particular are very satisfied. Two Filipino women in the sample who have professional training and experience, although not now employed for pay, expressed a determination to return to their professions eventually. The only working female seemed to feel that her job was "just a job." The two respondents who were asked about their spouses' attitude toward (the spouses') occupation believed that they were well satisfied.

Relations with Colleagues

Filipinos, particularly professionals, find their relations with co-workers satisfactory and, in some cases, very fulfilling. The medical technologist was questioned about her relations with past colleagues. She reported that although relations were initially strained, they proved eventually satisfying:

> ...at first I thought they were really cold....it took a little while before the warming up took place and then, after you know, I just kind of fit into the group like everybody else. And I don't think they even thought of me as a Filipino - as a matter of fact somebody told me that [they] never really thought of me as different. Even my husband (an indigneous American) has told me that he never did feel that I was different...just because I was an Asian.

When asked if she had gotten together socially with her past co-workers, she replied that she had and that it was, "No problem at all."

One male physician responding to the same question was somewhat philosophical. Next to his wife, he thought of his work as his "best friend." He reported that he did get together socially with the people he worked with:

> ...whenever we have the time. We go out to dinner together once in a while...They are sort of special people you know. I think...probably the most friendly group of people I have ever worked [with] since I have been to the United States.

He felt he related so well to his co-workers because he was a doctor.

> Well, you see, I am a doctor...But,...I never put myself on top of anybody...just because I am a doctor, you know;I...kid with them, I respect them and they should have respect for me, you know. I sort of try to put myself, you know, with them...I think I have a very good relationship with all the people here...

This respondent is very sure about his good relations with his colleagues. Asked if he had friends where he worked: "Oh, definitely, yes, yes. Hopefully, my wife also is befriending many doctors' wives."

These feelings and attitudes were, more or less, echoed by other Filipinos in the sample. Another physician reported that his best friends came from various countries. "I think that my wife would attest to the fact that our friends are a mixture of Americans, Filipinos, Indians, Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese. It's a mixture."

The relations respondents' spouses have with their co-workers are limited but do not differ markedly from relations which respondents have with their colleagues. Social relations between respondents and their spouses on the one hand and their colleagues and co-workers on the other seem to be relatively satisfying and pleasant. The doctors, in particular, are very satisfied with their working relations.

Advancement and Discrimination

The majority of the respondents in the Filipino sample claimed that there was no problem with professional advancement or of discrimination. Two exceptions to this generalization were reported but for very different reasons.

Although he did not address himself specifically to the issue of discrimination, the psychiatrist working for the State of Illinois, who, with a number of other "foreign" doctors, failed the State Examination, gave vent to his feelings

about discrimination. Speaking of the examination and the way it was handled, he said:

> Now this is one thing that has really hurt my pride, you know. I never expected this issue to come out in Illinois and they said about foreign doctors and I said to myself in the eyes of God there are no foreign doctors...

The medical technologist who was not working for pay at the time of the interview was asked if she felt there had been room for advancement in her field while she was working. Her answer was prompt: "Oh, definitely yes, there were definite opportunities for advancement if I kept working." When asked whether or not she had ever felt herself to be the object of discrimination on the job her response was a crisp and clear "No."

One male physician believed that advancement depended solely upon one's own efforts: "...the only advancement I would get in my work is if I get more cases, you know, that's more business. Now I am in charge...I don't think I can go higher than that...I accept it, you know..." This physician thinks that the reason he has never felt discriminated against is because of the self-employment character of his profession.

A woman who combines the roles of mother, wife and employee finds advancement virtually impossible in her present employment situation. Discrimination is not the problem. When asked if she felt she was discriminated against in her employment in terms of the job she performed or her salary, she said, "No, I don't feel that way." Lack of advancement opportunities is inherent in her job; she clerks for a local bakery's retail outlet.

Describing his views of discrimination, a Filipino transportation engineer feels that if he is not wanted someplace, "I just get out because I can't tolerate people who don't like me...I am not going to fight for my rights; [but] I don't have to put up with it, either."

While possible discrimination was mentioned by one out of the ten Filipinos

interviewed, advancement and discrimination do not appear to be problematic for the Filipinos. The reason is undoubtedly the fact that most are professional people, working mainly in medicine.

Summary

It was found that Filipino respondents and their spouses held or are trained for relatively prestigious occupations: doctors, engineers, medical technologists, nurses and college professors. Two of the three female respondents who are not now employed and report their occupations as housewives are, nevertheless, professionally trained. The only female respondent who is currently gainfully employed is a clerk in a retail outlet. A female spouse, although presently a full time housewife, is an accountant by profession. Only one female spouse was listed as a housewife without qualification.

One male respondent felt very dissatisfied because of an unfortunate turn in his work. A female respondent thought that her job was more or less a job. The remaining respondents could easily be characterized as moderately satisfied or very satisfied with their occupations, or past occupations as in the case of the females.

Filipino relations with colleagues or co-workers seem, for the most part, to be satisfying and fulfilling. Based upon the information supplied by respondents, it is not possible to decide whether these relations are typically primary or secondary in nature.

A male respondent (the same one who was not satisfied) voiced feelings which could indicate that he had experienced discrimination in his work. A female feels that her job does not make it possible for her to advance in her career. For the remainder of the Filipino respondents who supplied information, discrimination is not a problem. Advancement potential is somewhat less clear, despite the fact that many are professionals.

KOREANS

The Korean sample consisted largely of blue-collar workers and small business people. Four respondents, all women, report their occupations as that of "housekeeper." Two respondents, one male and one female, designated themselves as self-employed owners of small businesses -- the male owns and operates an auto body repair shop and the female is co-owner with her husband of a gift-shop. Another man is a salesman at a local department store. Another reports his occupation as a mechanic. The final respondent is a medical doctor.

The spouses of the Korean sample held similar jobs and positions. Four men reported their wives' occupation as "housekeeper." Three, all female, indicated that their husbands were medical doctors. One Korean woman was the co-owner of the gift shop noted above. This respondent was the only female in the Korean group who did not describe herself as a "housekeeper." The final respondent, a female, indicated that her husband was a welder in a body shop.

There seems to be a pattern in the Korean occupational scene. In all, there are eighteen occupations accounted for -- nine respondents and nine spouses. Of the nine respondents, five are female and four are male. Only one female is not occupied as a housewife. The remaining four female respondents, and all four female spouses of the respondents, were occupied. Two respondents, one female and one male, are self-employed shopowners. Three spouses and one respondent are medical doctors. One respondent and one spouse are employed in auto body work and mechanics. The male shopowner runs an auto body shop and works by himself.

Job Satisfaction

Generally, Korean men were somewhat divided in their levels of job satisfaction. A physician, acknowledging problems he had in setting up his practice in Springfield, claimed a high degree of satisfaction. He explained his early professional problems:

> In general, ...as a newcomer in a medical field, of course, you have a general problem to build up a practice. Not as a foreigner, but, you know, when you begin your practice...everybody has problems to begin with. General problems, I guess. People...did not know me, and I do not know people either so that creates a problem...So I think that's a problem to everybody when you start a practice. Not necessarily to foreigners. As foreigners, of course, ...you have more problems than American people...By now, I guess I am very satisfied. But your desire is endless as a human being, you know, but I am very satisfied with this ... practice in all aspects...

The Korean mechanic was equally strong in his expressions of satisfaction with his occupation. The interviewer had asked about his chances of promotion at work. The respondent said he didn't see much of a chance. When asked if he would look for another job where there was room for promotion, his response was: "...I don't want to look for another job. I think I really like this job."

The salesman, however, was not well satisfied with his job. When asked about how satisfying his work was, he said: "Well, a job is a job. I hope they pay me more salary." Asked if this was the kind of work that he would continue to do, his answer was: "No Ma'am,...I desire to go [to] some other specialty like get[ting] a master['s] degree...or...something like that, but financially [it is] very difficult at present..."

The male shop owner, who also owns three houses, was considerably less satisfied with his work than the salesman: "...sometimes I hate my job myself, but I have to work with all the dust,...[handle]...things like paint...[These are] the reason [s] I hate this job. It's the only work I learned...here, so, I have to do this job, but I don't like it." Would he want his son to work with him some day? "No, I don't want him working with me. No."

Of the four Korean women, three indicated that they had been employed at one time. One had worked at "..... Electricity...Two years ago working over there..." She reported that she had also worked for six months in a Chinese restaurant. Another taught school in Korea before coming to the United States. Asked about "problems" to which she had alluded in an earlier comment, she said: "Oh, I too much stay house, I not working. I wish I work...I used to teach at our

country. Me was a school teacher. When I come here, I can do nothing."

Another Korean woman who alluded to some past occupation was rather vague as to what it was. However, when asked if she would like to work here, she responded:

> Yes, I would like to work but my children [are] still young and I don't want...babysitters to take care of them. I cannot get a job now but I want to someday.

What would she like to do?

> I don't know, that's the problem, you know, sometimes I want to study... [and] my husband wants me to study rather than get a job...but I'm not sure whether [to] get a degree or [not]...I am not sure.

The remaining women in the sample made no reference to previous employment.

The level of occupational or job satisfaction of the spouses of the respondents was discussed. Three male spouses were medical doctors. Two of these respondents were somewhat vague in their estimation of their spouses' job satisfaction. How did she feel about his work? "Ah, I don't know. I don't know what he say here." Was he happy with his work? "I think so." The second respondent's answers were equally vague about her husband's satisfaction with his job. Is he happy with his practice here in Springfield? "Well, we always [are] even if we got very little, we have been very happy." What about things other than salary?

> Satisfactory, I guess. You know, I do not know, even if when we live[d] for about 300-400 a month, with children, I did not think I was unhappy. I was happy and we got ten times more. I think when we joined here but then we felt we were happy,too, so does not matter, not those things, no.

The third physician's spouse was much more to the point. Do you feel he is happy in his job? "Yes, he is happy." The wife of the body shop worker was likewise asked about her husband's occupational satisfaction. She reported that he is not satisfied with that but intends to have his own shop once he saves enough money.

The Korean man reported rather candidly that his wife had worked and that he had not been all too pleased. His wife had operated an elevator at a local office. How had she liked her job? "How - sometimes she like it, sometimes she doesn't." And again: "She's uh, she gets this job 'cause she like to do that. I mean she like to do work...much."

Little information was obtained regarding the relationships of Koreans. Social relations with colleagues are friendly, yet tentative and distant. When asked how he felt about his colleagues, the auto body mechanic replied:

> Oh, nothing trouble. We just help each other and I don't want to make peoples any trouble...so I just helping peoples and he just help me and sometimes like that and we just help each other.

One woman whose husband is a physician was asked if she visited with Americans in their homes, or if she had American friends. She responded: "It is very little, just I, my husband's partners...I don't have American friend."

Advancement and Discrimination

Only a third of the Korean respondents were questioned about job promotion, mobility or discrimination because nearly one-half of the respondents were self-employed and these questions were not relevant. A male mechanic in an auto body shop reported that for him there was no chance for promotion but he was not looking for another job. Another respondent, while being questioned about the prospect of her physician husband's career advancement, was positively hopeful. In addition to being in medical practice, her husband was also a professor in the medical school. He wanted to do more research and writing. She did not think her husband faced any discrimination.

Another physician, when asked how he was treated by his partners, answered: "I guess I call myself an equal partner and I think they treat me as an equal partner, and I do not believe there is any discrimination...because of...race or sex...in our group, we are not having a problem..." Later he mentioned that he had some problems in the United States that he might not have had in Korea.

> Well, you know, in old days, since I was taking a patient...sometimes some patients questioned my competence because I was a foreigner. Naturally...if I was in Korea, I would not have these problems. You know, I guess, that is problem. I do not have those problems [now]. If I have..., I do not care any more, because that does not hurt me any more. In the beginning of my practice, that hurt my feelings, not just as Korean, but naturally, probably I wish I go back home but I do not know...

Summary

Korean respondents and their spouses are occupied in a wide variety of ways at very different prestige levels. Of the eighteen respondents and spouses, four are medical doctors, three are owners of small businesses, two work as mechanics and welders in an auto shop, one works as a salesman in a department store, and eight -- all female -- are reported as housekeepers.

Koreans report low to moderate job satisfaction. High prestige occupations seem to engender a higher degree of satisfaction (doctors) than relatively less prestigious jobs (salesman, housekeeper, body shop owner), although the fit is not perfect (the body welder seemed very satisfied).

Those who supplied information about relations with colleagues and coworkers reported that they were friendly, but did not betray particularly meaningful or deep relationships.

For those who volunteered information on job advancement and discrimination, job promotion seems to be a questionable possibility. One of them, a medical doctor, thinks that he can advance only be "producing" more. The body welder sees no chance for advancement at all. Another medical doctor feels at times that some of his patients lack confidence in his professional competence.

Concluding Statement

This study did not find evidences of any overt and blatant work-related discrimination against the Asian American groups by the majority community. It did encounter, however, reports of subtle discrimination against individual persons from any number of Asian Americans. As stated earlier, Asian Americans have little, if any, social contact with their neighbors and co-workers. They are generally accepted insofar as they are productive members of the work-force in factories, offices, and public and private institutions. Beyond the work place, however, there is little acceptance or interaction.

The subtle discrimination becomes apparent when one considers that none of the persons interviewed or their spouses holds any position in which policy making decisions are made and executed. There is no full professor, no head of the department, no director of any public or private agency, no bureau chief, no supervisor -- in short, no one who occupies a top position in the administrative or organizational hierarchy. In other words, there is a job ceiling for the Asian Americans which limits how far or high they can go in their careers.

The report of relatively high job satisfaction among the professional Asian Americans may be overstated. Given the high value of modesty in their cultural backgrounds, the gratefulness toward America for their hearths and homes, a vague fear about losing them in case something goes wrong, and the consequent unwillingness to speak ill of the host country, the Asian American response to any question about their lives and work is likely to be positive, especially if the interviewer happens to be white. In a few cases, however, where the interviewer established close personal rapport, the respondents made almost an about face on their responses once the tape recorder was shut off. The unreserved satisfaction at work suddenly became qualified and reserved. There was a widespread feeling among the Asian Americans that the majority population was relatively indifferent to their well-being.

The case of Asian Americans provides newer evidences to refute once again the popular but irrational Horatio Alger myth which portrays a boy of humble origin rising through honest effort and perseverance, to great

heights in America,[6] for the Asian Americans know by experience and knowledge that they cannot and will not make it to the top. They rather adapt themselves to what Merton[7] terms a "ritualistic mode" in which they settle for a set of realistic but lower cultural goals and pursue them through institutionalized means.

Immigration from the newly independent countries of Asia to the United States is relatively recent. The first generation of these immigrants were highly educated professionals who ascribed to the ideology of success and high achievement. The next generation will be born and raised in the United States in the secular tradition of American schools and, probably, without the high achievement orientation of their parents. The rank and file of the second generation is not likely to even nearly approach the drive and ambition of the parents. Given their distinct physical features, the invisible job ceiling and the subtle discrimination at work discussed earlier, and the likelihood that such discrimination will be tolerated much less by them than by their parents' generation, any prognosis of how the future Asian Americans will organize their lives and careers is indeed intriguing.

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6. See R. Richard Wohl, "The Rags to Riches Story," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymore Martin Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, New York: The Free Press, 1966 (II Edition), pp. 501-506.

7. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949, p. 133.

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